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ABSTRACT

As a part of a cross-national project this study examined enemy images among 200 Danish college students, using an associative technique. Students were given 2 minutes to write down quickly all the words that occurred to them after hearing a specific stimulus expression "enemies of our country." One of the main results noted was the few students searched for "enemies" outside of the country. Instead, civil and domestic problems inside Denmark were brought into focus, such as "social and economic problems" and "we ourselves," pointing to a certain polarized everyday consciousness among the respondents. Negative associations to the Soviet Union and the United States were almost negligible, as were the associations given to avoiding war by military means. Such use of the enemy concept (for an internal and non-military use mainly) is possibly caused by the retreat of cold war rhetoric in the late 1980s, but could also be interpreted along with other studies showing no stereotypes of nationality (East or West) among ordinary people concerning questions of peace and war. Preliminary comparative data from the Soviet Union and Sweden indicated that the neutral Swedes had the most intact image of an external enemy and the Danes seemed to react more like the Soviets, with both groups looking for the enemy in their own countries. The technique of written associations appeared to be a useful instrument. (Author/ABL)

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THE IMAGE OF THE ENEMY
– from an external, military to an internal, civilian enemy

A Danish pilot study exploring enemy images
using an associative technique

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As part of a cross-national project, this paper reports a study of enemy images among 200 Danish students, using an associative technique. One of the main results is that few students searched for "enemies" outside the country. Instead very civilian and domestic problems inside Denmark were brought into focus, such as "social and economic problems" and "we ourselves", pointing at a certain polarized everyday consciousness among the respondents. Negative associations to the Soviet Union and the United States of America were almost negligible. So were the associations given to avoiding war by military means. Such use of the enemy concept (for an internal and non-military use mainly) is possibly caused by the retreat of cold war rhetoric in the late 80s, but could also be interpreted along with other studies showing no stereotypes of nationality (East or West) among ordinary people concerning questions of peace and war. – The technique of written associations appeared to be a useful instrument.

Keywords: Associative techniques, Denmark, enemy images, peace research, the Soviet Union, Sweden, the United States, university students.

WHAT ARE DANISH STUDENTS SUPPOSED TO THINK OF FIRST WHEN ASSOCIATING TO THE EXPRESSION: "THE ENEMY OF OUR COUNTRY"?

This was one out of seven signal sentences or words read aloud to an audience of 200 Danish students of economy or education.

The year was 1988, when the so-called new cold war between the East and the West was already on the retreat.

As the Danish part of a cross-national project in Sweden, Finland, the Soviet Union and Denmark[1], the aim of having students responding to such signal words with their spontaneous associations was to investigate the possible or actual existence of an **"image of the enemy"**.

The image of the enemy is normally explained in much the same way as the way in which people form prejudices against one another. This involves restricted "black-and-white" thinking, demonstrating some kind of stereotyped attitudes or behaviour against somebody, or the tendency to characterize what one dislikes in certain persons, groups or ideas in a very schematic and often negative way, for example by making scapegoats out of certain minorities, races, refugees, nationalities, political ideas etc., accusing them of all the bad things that have already happened or could happen to oneself.

The image of the enemy is then often the result of such stereotypes, for example of a country, a nation/nationality or an opposite military bloc, accusing it of being a surely cruel and inhumane one - from which you could expect nothing but the worst cruelty, aggression and violence, threatening, as you seem quite sure this enemy is, your own country or the bloc of nations to which you belong and with whom you share at least some important common moral, religious and/or political values.

ENEMY IMAGING GRATIFIES NEEDS

No forceful psychological mechanisms function in a vacuum or for their own sake. When talking about enemy images, it is therefore considered to be important not just to condemn them as being prejudices, unpleasant to the wishful thinking of some decent mankind. In the first place, enemy images will not disappear because we find them unpleasant. Secondly, it

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1 This cross-national project was decided upon and initiated at a conference in Seville, Spain (1987). Great efforts were made to engage other countries in the project, unfortunately without any great success. Norway now participates as a latecomer (cf. Richardsen, 1990).

is only when we know exactly how they function that we may be able to influence and change them by education or re-learning[2].

Psychologists[3] seem to agree that enemy imaging fulfils at least three functions:

1 *it creates a strong feeling of "us" (identity) against "the other"*

2 *it permits us to act with aggression against "the other", when this other is defined as sufficiently inhuman, evil and threatening to our own values or lifestyle*

3 *it supplies us with scapegoats onto which we can project/externalize all the problems that bother us, including the undesirable sides of ourselves*

Such an image of an enemy is of course a very important part of nations' or people's psychological readiness to hold aggressive attitudes - or to legitimate violent actions against the other party[4].

Or to put it differently: it is hardly possible for the ruling elite of a country to engage its population in military dispositions eventually leading to warfare against other nations/countries/military-ideological blocs, unless some enemy imaging is prevalent in the consciousness of the people.

Yet, during the cold years of the eighties it was often met with considerable doubt -not least by representatives of the peace movement, and from time to time it was also empirically supported that among ordinary people in the East and the West almost no hostile feelings against the other could be registered[5].

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2 In his "The anatomy of human destructiveness", **Eric Fromm** distinguishes between "malign" and "benign" aggression, the "malign" type perceived only by humans as a result of, for example, the cultivation of certain enemy images. But the fact that this kind of aggression is a learned behavior makes it accessible to education or relearning (see also **Keldorff** in **Jensen & Keldorff**, 1984, pp. 143-152).

3 Allport, 1954; Brückner, 1972; Watson, 1980; Niklas & Ostermann, 1979; White, 1984; Jensen, 1984; Keen, 1986; Mellville, 1988; Wahlström, 1989.

4 "The monstrous enemy image, which depicts the 'enemy' as a barbarian and fanatic capable of any crime, of telling lies and cheating, justifies any actions against him and rules out even the slightest doubt about one's own righteousness.....impedes human reason and intelligence, creates and solidifies only negative emotions, such as fear, hatred, distrust, disgust, suspicion and hostility....[lulls reason to sleep, paralyzes it."] (**Mellville**, p.9).

5 "The enemy stereotype is, as a rule, not inherently monolithic. For example, it is generally believed that **ordinary people** 'on the other side' are basically good and kind, and that all the evil comes only from their **leaders.**" (**Mellville**, p.8). In his survey of The perception of international relations by adult Danes, **Bo Jacobsen** (1988) instructed his test subjects to tick off a list of national leaders and populations, as to whether they were perceived (continued)

The British historian and then leader and nestor of the END movement (European Nuclear Disarmament), **Edward P. Thompson**, holding this position already in 1982, wrote in his essay, "Beyond Cold War"

> *"What then is the cold war, as we enter the 1980s, about?: The answer to this question can give us no comfort at all. If we look at the military scene, then nothing is receding. On the contrary the military establishment of both superpowers continues to grow each year. The cold war, in this sense, has broken free from the occasions at its origin, and has acquired an independent inertial thrust of its own:*
> ***WHAT IS THE COLD WAR NOW ABOUT? IT IS ABOUT ITSELF!"***

Thus it has been suggested that the new cold war was primarily a creation of the military-industrial or military-bureaucratic complexes of the two superpowers together with their ruling elites, succeeding in creating a vast number of destructive goods, but so far not succeeding in creating any preparedness for war among the ordinary people of each bloc:

> *"Again and again during the 80's East and West polls showed that people were scared by the rhetorics of the new cold war. Yet, there was an almost total lack of an image of any external enemy. The remaining one was left with the leaders of the two blocks. What was seen as an 'enemy' was the madness of the arms race itself and the double-headed monster of military thinking of both superpowers."*[6]

WHAT IS THE IMAGE OF THE ENEMY IN 1988 TERMS?

On the brink of what was increasingly being sketched as a coming era of disarmament in the nineties, it therefore seemed interesting to test by empirical means the "status quo" of a possible remaining image of the enemy (was there anything left of it, or what had it been transformed into?), by asking a similar group of students in some countries of the East and the West the same questions.

We did so, and the results of the Danish group of students, as well as of some other pilot studies to be reported below, were in fact quite surprising.

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to be "peaceable" or "militant":

Estimations by adult Danes (N=30)	"peaceable"	"militant"
Reagan	4	22
the ordinary Amer. citizen	21	2
Gorbatjov	9	14
the ordinary Sov. citizen	22	0

6 Here quoted from **Keldorff**: From external to internal enemy. Approaching a new ethics of a reunited Europe. Paper and lecture to the third International Teachers for Peace Congress, Budapest, June 1990.

DATA COLLECTION

A) Written associations

In measuring attitudes, a variety of well-known methods are available:

1) *instruments measuring quantities of differing answers to questionnaires, typically with a fixed number of answer alternatives - and*

2) *instruments searching for some kind of unique, individual selfexpressions (interviews, taped dialogues, observations of conversations, written associations, drawing tests and other projective tests etc.).*

Every one of these methods has its advantages and drawbacks: the quantitative ones often leave the question of subjective nuances unsolved, while the qualitative ones often have problems with what is called "an objective interpretation".

For the present purpose we chose the qualitative technique of **written associations**, a methodology proposed by the co-ordinator of the project, Prof. **Åke Bjerstedt**, Sweden, in which:

> *"The persons studied were asked to write down all the words that occurred to them during a brief period (two minutes after having heard a specific stimulus expression). The key stimulus expression was 'enemies of our country'. What would people think of first, when they heard this phrase? Would a large majority think of a specific foreign country, or would the answers be more varying?"*[7]

Besides this key association stimulus[8], the procedure contained six other stimuli words/ expressions: ***"The future" (1), "Avoiding war" (2), "Peace" (4), "The United States" (5), "The USSR" (6) and "Human rights" (7).***[9]

Passing over the more neutral stimuli words (1), (4) and (7), it would be interesting to look at the associations to "avoiding war" (2), "enemies of our country" (3) and the superpower expressions (5 + 6).

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7 **Bjerstedt, Åke**. Enemy images explored via associative techniques. Paper for the 13th General Conference of the Int. Peace Research Ass. (IPRA), Groningen, Netherlands, 1990.

8 The expression "Enemies of our country" was read aloud as no. 3 of the seven associative words/sentences.

9 The Danish expressions used were: **"Fremtiden" (1), "At undgå krig" (2), "Danmarks fjender" (3), "Fred" (4), "USA" (5), "Sovjetunionen" (6) and "Menneskerettigheder" (7).**

Would the persons studied first think in terms of armaments, deterrence and military strength, or would they perhaps think the other way around, i. e. in terms of mutual understanding and proposals for solving conflicts by peaceful means?

And would mention of the superpowers immediately call up associations to the military bloc system, certain fragments of cold war rhetorics - or rather more various civil ideas related to the US and the USSR?

All this we did not know. To get as spontaneous data as possible it was necessary to make up a response form containing only seven fields in numerical order, referring to the stimuli words/ expressions. At the top there was some space to fill in: line of education, age and sex (see Appendix p. 30).

In the general instructions before the start they were told:

1 *that there would be no right or wrong answers*

2 *that they were to write down quickly what they could think of in two minutes for each word/sentence*

3 *that they should not ask questions, make audible comments or look at their neighbour during the test*

As in the Swedish pilot study, I found it interesting to describe the associations to expressions (2), (3), (5) and (6) - but also co-testing question (1) (see below).

B) Classifying free-text material: Independent interpreters/co-scorers

To get the highest possible degree of objectivity in scoring such free-text material, in which there will always remain some risk of biased interpretation (due to certain views or wishes of the analyzer), ***a scoring procedure by independent interpreters/co-scorers*** proposed by the co-ordinator, **Åke Bjerstedt**, was adopted.

Three of my best students[10] were engaged to score the whole material. After having been carefully instructed as regards the idea of this study, each co-scorer got three respondents' schemes randomly chosen among a surplus not to be used in the analysis.

Under my guidance, and accompanied by mutual discussion, they then made a test-scoring of these on a special form (see Appendix p. 31).

After this, the proper scoring was "blind" to me. The first two co-scorers then scored the material independently of each other and delivered 400 scored forms to the third scorer,

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10 **Jette Lindhard Mortensen, Helle Jensen and Christian Frankel.**

who, in case of differing scores between the first two testers, and playing the role of "Sovereign", conclusively decided which interpretation should be used in the final analysis.

Finally I analyzed the 200 forms scored by the "Sovereign".

I did no comparison test of the inter-judge agreement between the co-scorers, as in the study by Bjerstedt[11], so the main instruments of objectivity in this study should be ascribed to two procedures only: 1) my own withdrawal from the direct scoring, and 2) the triple-testing with a sovereign judge.

SUBJECTS

Already in the early discussions of this cross-national study it was decided by the participants that the pilot study should emphasize methodology rather than representativity.

So the co-workers from each country (**Riitta Wahlström**, Finland, **Åke Bjerstedt**, Sweden and **Olga Melnikova & Yuri Shirkov**, the USSR) agreed to use two relatively well-defined groups of students, one hundred in each, with the most even sex distribution possible.

In Denmark, as in the other countries, 100 university students studying economics (finance) and 100 students studying to become ordinary school teachers were found. Since we knew that these two particular studies normally have an uneven sex distribution, the demand of testing an equal number of men and women in the two groups was loosened. But it was decided that the age range should lie between 18 and 25 years.

The Danish groups consisted of 100 students studying "erhvervsøkonomi" (Cand.merc./-Business economy) at Aalborg Universitetscenter (5th semester) and 100 "lærerstuderende" (Trainee teachers) at Aalborg Seminarium (Teacher training college, 3rd semester).

The actual test took place at the beginning of the autumn term in Sept. 1988.

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11 In his study **Bjerstedt** found a fair degree of inter-judge correspondence.

Table 1. Groups of subjects: Distribution over study area, sex and age

Age	Students of economics		Trainee teachers		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
20	5	6	0	5	16
21	18	14	1	10	43
22	10	13	3	23	49
23	10	7	6	16	39
24	1	6	4	10	21
25	6	4	9	13	32
	50	50	23	77	200

RESULTS

"THE ENEMY" = CIVIL PROBLEMS INSIDE SOCIETY

"Social or economic problems" and "We ourselves"

Although all possible connotations of enemies in a militaristic sense of the word were conflated into one subject category 1) here, and despite the fact that the stimulus expression ought to invite exactly such associations, the fact is that **only about one fifth of all sub-groups, irrespective of study area and sex, gave at least one response that could be referred to as some kind of geo-political enemy.**

This did not only apply to all connotations of the superpowers, but also to certain "historical enemies" of Denmark, for example Sweden and Germany[12].

No specific country/nation or pact was singled out by a significantly larger amount of responses than any other, but an answer containing both superpowers was relatively common (13%).

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[12] Of course "The Warsaw pact", "The East", "The Soviet Union", "The East bloc", "East Europe", "The threat from the East" were frequent answers, but also "America", "The US", "NATO". Quite often "East/West", "USSR/USA", "The superpowers" were mentioned simultaneously. There were few answers referring to historical enemies: "Germany", "Sweden" - or to what some of the subjects pointed at as a new external enemy: "Islam".

Table 2. **"Enemies of Denmark"**: Number of students in the various subject categories referring to: (1) "Geo-political enemies", (2) "Environmental enemies", (3) "We ourselves", (4) "Special groups" and (5) "Social or economic problems".

Subject cat:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Trainee teachers					
Male (=23)	4 (17%)	3 (13%)	10 (43%)	8 (35%)	9 (39%)
Female (=77)	14 (18%)	29 (38%)	30 (39%)	19 (25%)	21 (27%)
All trainee teachers (N=100)	18	32	40	27	30
Students of economics					
Male (=50)	10 (20%)	12 (24%)	22 (44%)	13 (26%)	28 (56%)
Female (=50)	10 (20%)	7 (14%)	22 (44%)	14 (28%)	27 (54%)
All students of economics (N=100)	20	19	44	27	55
All male students (N=73)	14 (19%)	15 (21%)	32 (44%)	21 (29%)	37 (51%)
All female students (N=127)	24 (19%)	36 (28%)	52 (41%)	33 (26%)	48 (38%)
Total group (N=200)	**38 (19%)**	**51 (25.5%)**	**84 (42%)**	**54 (27%)**	**85 (42.5%)**

(The sub-categories: "Both sides", "Western side only", "Eastern side only" were not included in the table, reaching only 13%, 4.5% and 5.5% of the total group).

But what seems quite striking is that the two Danish high scores: "social or economic problems" with a total score of 42.5% and "we ourselves" with a total score of 42%, exclusively pointed at civil problems inside society.

To give responses, when asked about enemies, that refer to domestic problems inside one's own country and to one's own national group as well as to "special groups inside Denmark" and "environmental threats", seems to point at **another and a more civil quality of associations than was first expected.**

But although some of the associations written down could perhaps be explained as certain "intrapunitive" tendencies[13] among the respondents, this should perhaps not be overemphasized.

According to **Niklas & Ostermann** (1979, p.369) most ordinary people asked about issues on foreign policy will primarily mobilize their everyday consciousness, associating to quite nearby and daily, personal problems.[14]

In fact no one told the group that the examiner was a peace and conflict researcher. And only one of the key stimuli, namely number two ("avoiding war") could connote some military meaning to the respondents.

So, perhaps the respondents quite naturally and primarily associated to what people **normally** associate to when asked such mysterious questions: **the ordinary "noise" of the mass media**.

Expressions like the following could be heard/seen almost daily in the Danish mass media: "The enemy number one of/in Denmark is our foreign debt/our high wages/the increase in taxation, the decrease in export/the increase in public employees/the increase in unemployment.....etc."

Maybe this is part of the reason why the Danish high scores were concentrated on a variety of financial, political and social problems inside Danish society itself.

On the other hand this cannot be the whole explanation: in the material there were too many emotionally charged expressions to justify the accusation of being "robotic", for example some quite active denials of an external enemy, which points at more clear and deliberate attitudes.

1) *"We ourselves are the enemies of Denmark. The old, traditional people's images of enemies are rubbish and nonsense".*

2) *"Just as much as other countries can be our enemies in wartime, we are our own enemies (in peacetime. SK). Because our interests are so conflicting, we often destroy our possibilities to make a better Denmark".*

3) *"It is difficult to find out who they are. And whether they exist or not. As a matter of fact the enemies are already here - that is those who want us to believe that the enemy is somebody else outside Denmark".*

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13 By "intrapunitive" tendencies I refer to answers like: "Aren't we ourselves, the Danes, to blame - because we are too greedy?", "Denmark has wanted peace for years - the only enemy to us is ourselves with our egocentrism and self-assertion", "We ourselves, the Danes, are becoming increasingly anti-social, intolerant and selfish" etc.

14 See also **Keldorff.** Has World War III already been fought in the minds of the people? Paper for the 11th IPRA Congress, Sussex, GB, 1986.

It is also evident that most of the responses to this key stimulus could be interpreted in terms of **polarization** between the respondents, defining the "enemy", i.e. the problem as:

either **A) more left wing**: "the only interests of the Danes are consumption and football", "there is an evil force growing in Danish society idealizing egoistic traits of personality", "Danes are ignorant of environmental problems, the outer world and people from other countries" ..... etc.[15]

or **B) more right wing**: "The idea of welfare is suicidal because it weakens the individual", "the boundless greed of the Danes", "the idea of welfare is soon going to strangle us", "the lack of every feeling of responsibility among Danes", "the eternal Danish tendency to strike the golden mean", "the Danish drift towards selfdestruction", "the Danish lack of political authority" .....etc.[16]

"Special groups" and "Environmental enemies" in Denmark

The two second highest scores for this key word, answered by about one fourth of the respondents, indicate that environmental problems have apparently reached the status of an "enemy". Hence, when asked about "enemies" of society, the respondents again focus upon concerns or problems in/of civil society (everyday consciousness, Alltagsbewusstsein) significantly more than upon a military enemy.[17]

This could perhaps be interpreted as some progressive steps forward towards a peaceable and maybe global, ecological consciousness (cf. the Brundtland report).

But once again this has to be measured against the scores for "special groups" as "enemies"; many could certainly be interpreted as reactionary enemy imaging, e.g. "political refugees", "the flood of immigrants to DK", "refugees of convenience", "incompetent Danish politicians", "The Social Democratic Party", "the Progress Party", "Political extremists and environmental swine", "racists" and so forth.....[18]

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15 Examples in Danish: "Vi har glemt vore værdier og er uden rygrad, går kun op i forbrug og fodbold", "der gror en ond kraft i det danske samfund, som idealiserer egoistiske personlighedstræk", "danskerne er ignoranter i forhold til miljø, omverden og andre folkeslag".....

16 Examples in Danish: "Velfærdsidéen er selvmorderisk, fordi den svækker individet", "Danskernes grænseløse grådighed, dovenskab og forkælelse er største fjende", "Velfærdsidéen vil snart kvæle os", "Danskernes manglende ansvarsfølelse", "Den evindelige danske trang til middelmådighed", "Den danske trang til selvdestruktion", "Den danske mangel på politisk beslutningsdygtighed".....

17 Examples of "environmental enemy" (in Danish): "Forureningen"; "Naturødelæggelse, smidvæk-kulturen"; "Jordens ying-yang-balance"; "Miljøet, luftforureningen, drivhus-effekten"; "Er krig ikke også ødelæggelse af miljø?" (all female trainee teachers).

18 Examples in Danish: "Politiske flygtninge", "Indvandrerbølgen", "Bekvemmeligheds-flygtningene", "Uduelige, danske politikere", "Socialdemokratiet", "Fremskridtspartiet", "Politiske extremister og miljøsvin", "racister".....

Here again, it seems natural to interpret a political polarization as above.

"The United States" and "The Soviet Union"

As already stated above, the two superpowers were the only nations mentioned relatively frequently, most often simultaneously (13%), as "enemies" by the one-fifth of the respondents who indicated some kind of geo-political enemy.

"The US" and "the USSR" were used also separately as associative keywords, to provide us with an opportunity to distinguish the extent of either positive, neutral or negative attitudes towards them.

It was decided to classify the responses to these two keywords into one out of four categories: positive (+), negative (-), mixed (+/-) and neutral (0).

The results are presented below in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3. **"The United States"**: Number of students in the various subject categories giving "positive" (+), "negative" (-), "mixed" (+/-) or "neutral" (0) associations.

Subject category	+	-	+/-	0
Econ., male (N=50)	7 (14%)	7 (14%)	35 (70%)	1 (2%)
Econ., female (N=50)	2 (4%)	12 (24%)	30 (60%)	6 (12%)
Teach., male (N=23)	1 (4%)	8 (35%)	13 (57%)	1 (4%)
Teach., female (N=77)	2 (3%)	25 (32%)	46 (60%)	2 (3%)
All econ. (N=100/%)	9	19	65	7
All teach. (N=100/%)	3	33	59	3
Total group (N=200)	**12**	**52**	**124**	**10**
%	**6**	**26.5**	**62**	**5**

Typical negative associations to "The Unites States" (translated):

"A self-centred, potential power of war, a superpower meddling in everything and believing itself to be the most important in the world, aggressive, suppressive, social injustice". (male student of economics)

".... a country populated by hypocrites with double standards". (male trainee teacher) [19]

Typical positive associations to "The United States" (translated):

"The land of freedom, a country in which everyone is the architect of his own fortune, pioneer of democracy. Good harmony between races". (male student of economics).

"I never had it better than there. The land of opportunities. Could be my own future country.....". (male student of economics) [20]

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[19] **Examples of negative associations to the "US"** (in Danish):

1) "Selvoptaget, potentiel krigsmagt, en stormagt, der blander sig i alt muligt og tror den er verdens vigtigste, aggressiv, undertrykkende, sociale skævheder" (male student of economics)

2) "Vores Storbror, som vi har hentet en del af vores livsstil fra, overvejende negativt. Jeg synes USA er befolket med en flok dobbeltmoralske hyklere. Landet er **ikke** mit forbillede". (male trainee teacher).

[20] **Examples of positive associations to the "US"** (in Danish):

1) "Frihedens land, hvor individet er sin egen lykkes smed. Foregangsland med hensyn til demokrati. God harmoni mellem racerne". (male student of economics)

2) "Jeg har aldrig haft det bedre end dér. Mulighedernes land. Kan blive min egen fremtid. Et sted, hvor folk prøver at leve deres eget liv og ikke andres som i Danmark". (male student of economics)

Table 4. "The Soviet Union" (same text as above for the US)

Subject category	+	-	+/-	0
Econ., male (N=50)	0	11 (22%)	36 (72%)	3 (6%)
Econ., female (N=50)	0	14 (28%)	34 (68%)	2 (4%)
Teach., male (N=23)	1 (4%)	5 (22%)	16 (70%)	1 (4%)
Teach., female (N=77)	2 (3%)	29 (38%)	43 (56%)	2 (3%)
All econ. (N=100/%)	0	25	70	5
All teach. (N=100/%)	3	34	59	3
Male students (N=73)	1 (1%)	16 (22%)	52 (71%)	4 (5%)
Female students (N=127)	2 (2%)	43 (34%)	77 (61%)	4 (3%)
Total group (N=200)	**3**	**59**	**129**	**8**
%	**1.5**	**29.5**	**64.5**	**4**

Typical negative associations to "The Soviet Union" (translated):

"A Big-Brother-is-watching-you society", "dull, grey, depressing", "suppression of individuals", "deportation of intellectuals", "robotic and patronizing society", "old men and indoctrination of inhabitants", "corruption, bureaucracy, dictatorship", "a society of shortages and queues", "Afghanistan".

But there were also a **few positive ones** (translated):

"A big unknown country which makes me curious. Are they perhaps like us? I would like to visit the Soviet Union". "An immense cultural background, ballet, literature, sport, - friendly and peaceloving people" (male student of economics)

"Worst advertisement for Socialism in years, but now in some positive development. Perhaps a country I could go to live in?" (male trainee teacher)

A comparison with the answers about the superpowers showed a nearly identical distribution[21]: An almost negligible number of respondents were unconditionally positive or neutral.

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[21] Among Danish peace activists there has been registered a parallel dissociation from the policy of armament of both superpowers during the eighties. (see also **Keldorff**. Kaprustning og atomkrig. Edupax, 1989).

But almost two-thirds of the answers in both cases belonged to the category "mixed" answers, containing both positive and negative descriptions of the superpowers.[22]

Mixed US associations (translated): *"A most fascinating country, I have visited it several times. Fascinated by its vastness, tempo, attitude to life and spirit of enterprise, yet despising and ridiculing the naïveté, superficiality and 'we-are-always-the-best' mentality of Americans".*

Mixed USSR associations (translated): *"Closed, secret, grey, inhuman, Siberia - yet greater openness now".*
(see also the following "Gorbachev effect").

Should marginal differences be focused on, it was among male students of economics that most positive attitudes towards the US were found (14%) - yet paralleled by just as many negative answers (14%) in the same sex sub-group.

It was in the sub-group of male trainee teachers that most unconditionally negative US answers were registered (35%) and in the sub-group of female trainee teachers that most unconditionally negative USSR answers were registered (38%).[23]

With only about one-third of all sub-groups giving negative answers, and with twice as many giving mixed answers about the superpowers, there are *no reasonable grounds for concluding the existence of any dominating negative stereotypes about these countries among the respondents.*

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[22] **I.: Examples of "mixed" answers to "the US" (in Danish):**

(1) male stud.econ.: "Meget fascinerende land, har selv været der flere gange. Betaget af storheden, tempoet, livsindstillingen og gå-på-modet. Foragter eller latterliggør samtidig amerikanernes generelle naivitet, overfladiskhed og 'vi-er-altid-bedst'-mentalitet."

(2) female stud.econ.: "Danmarks sikring i tilfælde af krig. Et land, der vil kontrollere andre. Et land med store indre problemer. Er en trussel mod freden."

II.: Examples of "mixed" answers to "the Soviet Union" (in Danish): (1) female trainee teacher: "Lukket, hemmeligt, gråt, umenneskeligt, Sibirien - dog større åbenhed nu." (2) female trainee teacher: "Gråt, sort, rødt, glasnost, på vej mod det bedre, måske?, storslået land, lukkede personer."

[23] While it is relatively self-evident that male students of economics look up to the US, it is more surprising that so many female trainee teachers were negative to the Soviet Union.

The "Gorbachev effect"

Due to frequent and deliberate mentioning of positive signs of change in the USSR, these answers were specially registered in the Danish pilot study; see the Table below

Table 5. **"The Gorbachev effect"**: Sub-groups mentioning signs of change for the better in the USSR or not mentioning this.

Subject category	Yes	No
Econ., male (N=50)	28 (56%)	22 (44%)
Econ., female (N=50)	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
Teach., male (N=23)	16 (70%)	7 (30%)
Teach., female (N=77)	49 (64%)	28 (36%)
All econ. (N=100)	58	42
All teach. (N=100)	65	35
All male (N=73)	44 (60%)	29 (40%)
All female (N=127)	79 (62%)	48 (38%)
Total group	**123 (61.5%)**	**77 (38.5%)**

As can be seen, there were significantly more respondents expressing some hope for "Perestrojka/Glasnost" changes in the USSR (2/3 of the respondents and most pronouncedly among the trainee teachers) **than respondents who did not, although a few who were mainly positive also expressed some scepticism**.

Typical examples of the "Gorbachev effect" (translated):[24]

"I've always been extremely negative towards the Soviet Union, but my view has changed since Gorbatjov came to power". (male student of economics)

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[24] **Typical examples of the "Gorbachev effect"** (in Danish):

(1) male student of economics: "Har altid været utrolig negativ overfor USSR, men har ændret opfattelse siden Gorbatjov tiltrådte".

(2) female student of economics: "Kommunismen har udspillet sin rolle, der sker noget nu, håber på Gorbatjov".

(3) male trainee teacher: "Måske en charmeoffensiv, men jeg håber det bedste for deres nye holdning. Det føles som om de virkelig vil have fred. Jeg er lidt mere rolig."

(4) female trainee teacher: "Totalitært, Gorbatjov, ...hunden har fået 3 meter længere snor, men maden er flyttet 4,5 meter længere væk".

"Maybe it is just some charming overtures, but I hope the very best for this new attitude, feeling that they really want peace ...." (male trainee teacher)

"A totalitarian regime, Gorbatjov ...the dog has got a line elongated by 3 meters, but the food has been moved 4.5 meters away". (female trainee teacher)

"Avoiding war"

The answers to the stimulus expression *"avoiding war"* were classified into four main categories:

(1) *answers referring only to armament, deterrence or other military means (a "si vis pacem, para bellum" kind of thinking)*

(2) *answers referring only to different types of non-violent means (disarmament, negotiation etc.)*

(3) *answers containing some kind of assessment (thoughts and judgements about the causes of war, the possibility of preventing conflict etc.) and*

(4) *mixed answers (using more than one of the above-mentioned categories, for example).*

The results are summed up in Table 6 below.

Table 6. **"Avoiding war"**: number of students in the four categories associating to military means only (m), non-violent means only (n-v), giving assessments (a) or mixed associations (mix).

Subject category	m	n-v	a	mix
Econ., male (N=50)	5 (10%)	26 (52%)	8 (16%)	10
Econ., female (N=50)	2 (4%)	33 (66%)	11 (22%)	2
Teach., male (N=23)	0	12 (52%)	11 (48%)	0
Teach., female (N=77)	1	51 (66%)	19 (24%)	5
All econ. (N=100)	7	59	19	12
All teach. (N=100)	1	63	30	5
Male students (N=73)	5 (7%)	38 (52%)	19 (26%)	10
Female students (N=127)	3 (2%)	84 (66%)	30 (24%)	7
Total group (N=200)	**8 (4%)**	**122 (61%)**	**49 (25%)**	**17 (9%)**

"Peace is gradually becoming a matter of course in Europe"

Along with this heading (a quotation of one of the written associations to the signal sentence "avoiding war"), the main tendency of the answers could be characterized as an overall tendency for both categories of students to answer with different connotations of "non-violent means" ("disarmament", "negotiation", "mutual understanding" etc..)[25]

About half of the male students and two-thirds of the female students answered in this direction; there were no differences between trainee teachers and students of economics.

Answers belonging to the "military means" category were almost negligible, with a total of only four per cent. (The maximum score for the sub-group of male students of economics was 10%).

One-fourth of the total (but about twice as many in the sub-group of male trainee teachers) wrote associations belonging to an assessment category, criticizing or just making statements on reasons for armament and military strength.[26]

Examples of the assessment category (translated):

"The capitalist system cannot avoid war, and therefore the inhuman capitalism has to be removed first". (male trainee teacher)

"More women at the top. Statesmen should listen more to children and young people". (female trainee teacher)

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25 **Examples of non-violent answers to "avoiding war"** (in Danish):

"Afspænding, tolerance og åbenhed"; "Større mellem-folkelig forståelse"; "Total parallel nedrustning på basis af tillid"; "Tid, kræfter og energi kunne anvendes mere konstruktivt, oprustningskapløb er ressourcespild"; "Vor og vore børns fælles jord"; "Sammenhold over grænserne"; "Danmark kunne gå foran ved at melde sig ud af Nato"; "Øget samhandel, flere sportsarrangementer og kulturudveksling", "Forbedre levevilkår i 3.landene".

26 **Examples of the assessment category** (in Danish):

(1) "Det kapitalistiske system kan ikke undgå krig, så den menneskefjendske kapitalisme må fjernes først" (male trainee teacher)

(2) "Hovedårsagen til krige er modstridende interesser baseret på misforståelser. Vi undgår kun krig gennem viden og oplysning" (male trainee teacher)

(3) "Flere kvinder i ledende stillinger. Lad statsmændene lytte til børn og unge" (female trainee teacher)

"THE FUTURE" - EXPECTING PEACE AND HIGHER QUALITY OF LIFE

The expression "the future" was the first one to be used in this study, before the respondents could imagine that the topic of it all would be more or less related to attitudes towards peace and war.

It should also be remembered here that in this study we were dealing with quite young adults, living in a segment of life, a status of "between", in which they would normally be preparing for an adult life at the end of their studies (starting a family, having children, planning their career, seeking a job etc.).

If the students were feeling insecure as regards their future lives, due to the influence of the cold war for example, some associations to restricted future conditions might therefore be expected.

Yet, very few students expressed such negative expectations. Nearly all the above-mentioned results point at some expected degree of "peace"[27] in this population, whether we focus on attitudes towards the superpowers or the means of avoiding war.

When we classified the orientation of the students into positive (+) by their associations to work, family, children and travelling and negative (-) by associations to possible unemployment and further problems as well as (+/-) by mixed associations to conditions for work and/or family etc., we got the following results:

Table 7 **"The future"**. Number of students expressing (+) positive, (-) negative, (+/-) mixed expectations and (0) unscorable.

Subject category	+	-	+/-	0
Econ., male (N=50)	20 (40%)	1 (2%)	27 (54%)	2
Econ., female (N=50)	15 (30%)	5 (10%)	26 (52%)	4
Teach., male (N=23)	5 (22%)	2 (9%)	15 (65%)	1
Teach., female (N=77)	7 (9%)	4 (5%)	61 (79%)	5
All econ. (N=100)	35%	6%	53%	6
All teach. (N=100)	12%	6%	76%	6
Male stud. (N=73)	25 (34%)	3 (4%)	42 (58%)	3
Female stud. (N=127)	22 (17%)	9 (7%)	87 (69%)	9
Total group (N=200)	**47 (23.5%)**	**12 (6%)**	**129 (64.5%)**	**12**

[27] A Danish newspaper opinion poll (Jyllands-Posten 3. Sep 89) published one year after this material was collected showed that 78% of the Danes estimated the risk of a third World War before the year 2000 to be "little", "very modest" or "non-existing". Only 3% estimated the risk to be "considerable", and 19% estimated "some risk".

Most of the students gave associations in the mixed category, very few focused on problems and almost one-fourth had positive expectations.

The students of economics had the most positive expectations, but in both groups the male students expected a better future situation than the females.

SOME PRELIMINARY COMPARATIVE DATA

Table 8. Comparative data. Total scores (%) for selected subj.cat. of "enemies of our country" (Sweden, USSR, Denmark)

Subject category	Geo-pol. enemy	Environm. threat	We ourselves[28]
Sweden	53	26	17
USSR	13.5	3	1) 32; 2) 29.5[29]
Denmark	19	25.5	42

For several reasons it is too early to make a close comparison of the data from the different countries engaged in this pilot study: we have not yet convened after reporting; we are still waiting for the final Finnish results; there are some differences in the results not yet analyzed, that could be due to different test times (results like these seem to be very dependent on what is happening in the specific country and in the world as a whole at specific times); there are some deviations regarding the method etc.

On the other hand it is too tempting, knowing some of the results, not to make at least some provisional, comparative reflections.

If Table 8 holds water, it seems interesting and somehow surprising

1. ***that, talking in relative terms, the neutral Swedes obviously had the most intact image of an external enemy***

2. ***that except for the "environmental threat", the Danes seemed to react more like the Soviets, both groups primarily looking for enemies within their own country***

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28 **Melnikova & Shirkov (1990)** subdivided the Soviet answers to "Enemies of our country" in a different way because another content analysis seemed to fit better with the answers. The Scandinavian subj.cat. **"We ourselves"** was generally covered by the Soviet categories: 1) "Personality features" (e.g. aggression, idleness, evil intentions etc.); 2) "Party, Soviet state functionaries, bureaucrats".

29 see note 28 above

CONCLUSION & DISCUSSION

According to the three constituent functions of the image of the enemy described on p.4, it is considered important to discuss whether one should cling to a definition of this concept in absolute or in relative terms.

To establish the existence or nonexistence of an external image of the enemy, which functions must be demonstrated by our results?

Does it make sense to talk of some essential but insufficient conditions? Will the first two functions do, or will all three be needed?

On the one hand, it is obvious that there will be different shades of enemy images. On the other hand, it could be important to define some absolute criterion as a basic point of reference.

To this end I find the related concept of "strong national identity" adequate, as described by for example **Weidenfeld**[30]:

> *"A final and definitive proof whether a person identifies himself with his national identity lies in his will to* ***work, suffer and die*** *for his native country, for example in a war. His national identity then will be tested in his radical renunciation of himself, for the benefit of a higher self, a deliberate sacrifice without compulsion involved....." "...we are not talking of a purely rational identification, but some deep emotional,* ***feeling grief, indignation, pride and shame*** *towards one's nation.....crying during the national anthem, thinking of the nation in terms of family relations....."*

If we define the image of an external enemy according to this concept in similar fundamental and absolute terms, it is most evident that we are far from such strong emotions in this pilot study[31].

And even when a minority associated in geo-political terms, none of these respondents expressed feelings comparable to those mentioned above.

Therefore at the most we are dealing with some relative enemy image as a frame of reference in this study.

A) with only one-fifth of the total group writing down associations which could be scored in the geo-political category ....

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30 **Werner Weidenfeld quoted in Ulf Hedetoft. War and Death as Touchstones of National Identity.** The European Research Programme, Aalborg University center, 1990 no.14

31 for example "hatred"

B) with the overall tendency to write down mixed (both positive and negative) associations to the superpowers ....

C) with the overall tendency to point at non-military means of avoiding war

it may not even be necessary to talk of a relative external enemy image in this population?

Pointing back to the statements on a growing unpopular cold war[32] of the eighties, this is perhaps not so extraordinary.

On the other hand it was widely accepted by the respondents to associate to the word, "enemy". What was quite surprising was that the respondents primarily looked for "enemies" inside their own society.

Only a few blamed themselves for not being good enough. Most respondents found scapegoats either in other Danes with other political values, or in certain "outgroups" (=strangers) on whom they could project the actual misère of the whole political-financial-moral crisis in Denmark.

Truly it would be obvious to declare the East-West enemy image a thing of the past, following this study - and truly it was surprising to find internal enemies instead.

But even if there was a certain tendency to blame oneself (called "intrapunitive inclination")[33], identifying oneself with the bad things, it should be emphasized that many respondents expressed explanations which could be heard/seen almost daily in the mass media.

The last thing to be concluded from this material should therefore be some Danish change of attitudes in a non-aggressive direction.

Indeed there was little hesitation in placing the guilt on other persons or ideas in Danish society. Consequently no anti-aggressive Danish psychosis should be diagnosed for the time being.

Nevertheless, it was striking to find a greater agreement between the Danish and the Soviet results than between the Danish and the Swedish ones.

One possible explanation could be that both these societies are in some sort of crisis and that in both cases the associations written down could refer to some psychological feeling of worry about the future development of society.

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32 see notes p. 5

33 **Melnikova & Shirkow** used this definition in their report, referring to our personal communication in Moscow Nov. 1989.

On the Soviet side, this feeling could be caused by understandable frustrations, due to the conditions of daily life and the uncertainty about all the new things happening, immediately calling up the whole gallery of scapegoats from the ancient regime (bureaucrats, party bosses etc.).

On the Danish side, this feeling could be caused by constant high unemployment and increasing taxes due to the expanding social welfare budget - and on the political arena, the constant political and financial squabble on who or what is to blame for this misère. However, with only 6 per cent of the Danes writing down negative associations to "the future", this need perhaps not be taken too seriously.

WHY THE UNIQUE DANISH RESULTS?

The rather unique Danish results (as compared with the Swedish ones) could also be due to what has been found in a lot of earlier investigations on "fear of war", "armament/disarmament" and related questions: i.e. **the fact that Danish scores tend to be a little more "extreme" than those of the average European.**[34] For the time being, I will not attempt to explain this phenomenon.

CAN A DANISH NATIONAL CHARACTER BE DISCERNED? THE LAW OF JANTE

Even if it may seem heretical to mention a concept like "national character" in this investigation[35], it is a wellknown fact, at least in Denmark, that a specific set of ruling norms is attributed to the Danes, the so-called **law of jante** described by the Danish-Norwegian author **Aksel Sandemose** (1899-1965) as follows

Don't believe you are someone special
Don't believe you are better than us
Don't believe you are capable of anything
Don't believe you could teach us something
.....

This law of Jante could be interpreted as a strongly observed norm in Danish society, to be mobilized every time some individual tries to take an initiative. In social psychology this would be defined as some kind of group pressure, suppressing tendencies of individuality and uniqueness, pleading for mediocrity.

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34 See **Sørensen, H.** Danskernes syn på sikkerhedspolitikken i 40 år. The Danish Institute of Peace and Conflict Research. (forthcoming)

35 Even self-criticism could be interpreted as ethnocentrism.

This national Danish, somehow centripetal, homogeneity is often referred to by foreigners visiting Denmark nowadays, but was expressed by the British diplomat **Robert Molesworth** as early as 300 years ago[36]:

"The Danes are pleasure-loving far beyond what their national finances allow ... the Treasury empties each year ... the Danes buy more than they sell ... from a moral point of view all the taxes and duties paid cannot proceed...

In Denmark you meet no specially gifted or qualified people ... no one stands out by extraordinary studies or professions ... no enthusiasts, raving fools or phantasts. All are more or less alike. Each keeps to the way of mediocrity ... on the ordinary level."

SOME CONCLUDING NOTES ON SUBJECT AND METHODS

Various coincidences lie behind the fact that this report is not finished until now, when we are writing late 1990. In many ways it may seem weird to draw interesting conclusions based on tendencies which were just maturing in 1988. At that time no one could imagine the fall of the wall and the velvet revolutions in East Europe. And it must certainly be even more weird to read the very cautiously formulated definition of relative enemy images in this study.

Objectively, the image of the external (East-West)enemy is a non-issue just now. At the same time the new crisis in the Gulf is making every single function of the traditional image of the enemy true again. The enemy labels of "Saddam Hussein is just a new Hitler" and "the free world should not hesitate to punish the aggressor" demonstrate exactly how our reason is being lulled to sleep once again. A new image of an external enemy is entering the scene! Beware!

I find the associative technique used in this study a brilliant hybrid form between the very boring and oppressive questionnaire form and the very time-consuming interview form.

If this design was nevertheless to be improved, I would suggest a few selected in-depth interviews following up some of the most interesting results such as the "We ourselves" category, just to test the range of intro- and extrojective meanings of these associations.

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36 **Robert Molesworth** in "An account of Denmark as it was in the year 1692," quoted from **Christopher Follet**. Holger Danske og hyggens fædreland. Nyt fra Handelsbanken, 3, Copenhagen, 1989, pp.6-8.

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APPENDIX

Students' response form: (Danish version/Sept. 88) - Søren Keldorff

Alder _____ Kvinde _____ /mand _____ Studieretning _____

- - - -

SCORINGS-SKEMA FOR INTERSUBJEKTIV PÅLIDELIGHED

Scorers navn:

Skemanummer: Køn: Alder: Studieretning:

Sp. 1 "Fremtiden"	nævner en række positive forhold	+	
	nævner en række negative forhold	-	
	nævner både/og	+/-	
	ikke scorlig	0	
Sp. 2 "At undgå krig"	kun militære løsninger nævnes	k1	
	kun ikke-militære løsninger nævnes	k2	
	andre associationer nævnes	k3	
	blandede associationer	k4	
	ikke scorlig	0	
Sp. 3 "Danmarks fjender"	nævner geopolitisk fjende	a	
	nævner miljømæssig "fjende"	b	
	nævner "os selv"/danskerne	c	
	nævner særlige grupper i Danmark	d	
	nævner sociale/økonomiske forhold	e	
	nævner begge parter (Øst/Vest)	f	
	nævner kun vestlige instanser	g	
	nævner kun østlige instanser	h	
	benægter direkte ydre fjende	i	
	ikke scorlig	0	
Sp. 4 "Fred"	nævner politiske løsninger	1	
	nævner miljømæssige løsninger	2	
	nævner økonomiske løsninger	3	
	nævner personlige løsninger	4	
	nævner andre idéer som løsninger	5	
	ikke scorlig	6	
Sp. 5 "USA"	angiver positive forhold	+	
	angiver negative forhold	-	
	angiver blandede forhold	+/-	
	angiver neutrale forhold	0	
Sp. 6 "USSR"	angiver positive forhold	+	
	angiver negative forhold	-	
	angiver blandede forhold	+/-	
	nævner "Gorbatjov" eller nye tendenser	x	
	angiver neutrale forhold	0	
Sp. 7 "Menneskerettig-heder"	nævner begreber	1	
	nævner undertrykkelsesformer/lande	2	
	nævner organisationer	3	
	ikke scorlig	4	

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Abstract card

Keldorff, S. The image of the enemy - from an external, military to an internal, civilian enemy: A Danish pilot study exploring enemy images using an associative technique. Educational and Psychological Interactions (Malmö, Sweden: School of Education), No. 108, 1991.

As part of a cross-national project, this paper reports a study of enemy images among 200 Danish students, using an associative technique. One of the main results is that few students searched for "enemies" outside the country. Instead very civilian and domestic problems inside Denmark were brought into focus, such as "social and economic problems" and "we ourselves", pointing at a certain polarized everyday consciousness among the respondents. Negative associations to the Soviet Union and the United States of America were almost negligible. So were the associations given to avoiding war by military means.

Keywords: Associative techniques, Denmark, enemy images, peace research, the Soviet Union, Sweden, the United States, university students.

Reference card

Keldorff, S. The image of the enemy - from an external, mili to an internal, civilian enemy: A Danish pilot study expl enemy images using an associative technique. Educational Psychological Interactions (Malmö, Sweden: School of Educ tion), No. 108, 1991.